reactionaries, offering to support the government in the interest of national defense. They made no secret, however, of their hope that the manifestation of their loyalty would persuade the Tsar to change his domestic policy and take persons with progressive leanings into the Cabinet. This policy undermined the prestige of the liberals in the eyes of the people, and its failure was to become one of the major causes of the growing anti-monarchist feelings in previously moderate circles. At the same time a split had developed within the left. Some of the S-D and S-R leaders called for national unity and support of the war effort; others denounced Russia's participation in the war as an adventure of the disintegrating Tsarist regime and declared that the masses of the Russian people had no stake in the clash between German and British imperialism.

The "patriotic" movement was particularly strong in radical circles in the early phase of the war, when many intellectuals volunteered for military service, but it did not last very long. At the beginning of the winter of 1914-15, a wave of defeatism began to rise rapidly. Since the Tsar and his generals had brought Russia into the war, its outcome was their responsibility. Each defeat of the Russian armies was therefore a blow for the Tsarist regime. Victory over Germany would bring no advantage to the Russian people and would result only in strengthening reaction. Such thinking implied that the Russian people would gain nothing from Germany's defeat but might gain their freedom as a result of Germany's victory.

ANTI-MILITARIST CAMPAIGN

Before I had time to formulate my own attitude to the conflicting political currents, I was confronted with a practical task. The local Social Democratic circles expected me to resume journalistic work and launch a magazine that would help crystallize public opinion among the exiles on the war, and perhaps within a much broader group of intellectuals in Siberia. I was not ready for this task and had no clear idea of the platform for the new magazine. Certainly it would take a stand against both the slogan of national unity, which amounted to the support of the Tsar, and that of defeatism, which amounted to the support of German imperialism. But many unresolved questions lay between these two extremes.

Most of my S-D friends were spending that summer in Ussolye, a village on the Angara some twenty miles from Irkutsk by train, and I went there to discuss the situation with them. Politically, the local S-D colony was under the strong influence of Tseretelli. He was a Menshevik without attachment to any particular faction and up to